



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

GOTTHONIC NAMES

I. NAME AND CONCEPT OF A RACIAL GROUP

§ 1. In the literature of today we frequently meet with the terms "Nordic" and "Germanic" used in a racial sense;¹ by these terms is meant nothing else than that which otherwise is called the "northern longskulled race", i. e., that race which originally was identical with the Indo-European family of peoples. But, while the racial characteristics of the Indo-Europeans are present in larger measure in one group of the family than in another and although our own group perhaps exhibits these characteristics in a special degree, it would not be possible yet to stamp any composite of traits as the parent of our race. Whenever it is a question of specifying the racial marks of the individual groups the investigations upon the subject have nothing definite to offer; hence it will be advisable to leave out of account this point of view entirely and to fix our attention upon the linguistic-historical boundary of the group.

§ 2. Our group of peoples is characterized by a type of language which in ancient times belonged wholly to the non-palatalizing languages and which since pre-historic times exhibits a pronounced tendency toward shifting the stop series of sounds so that b, d, g, replace p, t, k, while earlier p, t, k is at first aspirated and then assumes fricative and spirantal character. This group of peoples has always been the most northerly of all the Indo-Europeans, the chief seat being in Scandinavia and Germany. In modern times the group embraces Goths (extinct ca. 1700), Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, Frisians, the Dutch, and Germans; the separation of the two last groups is motivated more in political than in linguistic conditions.

§ 3. A number of different names have been employed for this group of peoples. Probably no other Indo-European people is so abundantly equipped in this respect. The reason for the multiplicity of names probably lies in the central situation of the group. Until today this wealth of names has hardly been observed by scholars at all. The only effort to treat them

¹ Cp. Chamberlain: *Die Grundlagen des 19ten Jahrhunderts*.

collectively which I know is my own article "Om Racenavnet og Racetanken", published in *Norden*, Copenhagen, 1904-1905.¹ It is, indeed, remarkable that the forms of the various names of our group of peoples have received so little attention. For the changing practice in the giving of names offers a striking test of the clearness with which our individuality was perceived during the different periods and of the interest which was evinced in that individuality. It will therefore be my effort to gather together as well as may be here that which has been neglected in the past.

If material of this kind is to be presented exhaustively, it becomes necessary to treat it with reference to several points of view; names grouped according to meaning, their chronological sequence, and the groups of sources according to nationality and culture. I shall first try to fix the groups of meanings and in connection therewith sketch briefly the history of the individual names. Then I shall show the relation between the chronological sequence and the groups of sources on the one hand and the meaning groups on the other.

§ 4. The meaning groups of the names of Germanic peoples are the following eight:

- A. Mythical Conception.
- B. Emphasis on Language.
- C. Emphasis on Geographical Locality.
- D. Emphasis on Intermediate Position Ethnically.
- E. Representation by Foreign Groups of Peoples.
- F. Representation by the Germans.
- G. Representation by the Scandinavians.
- H. Representation by the Goths.

Various names, to be sure, belong to two groups, in that they combine two meaning groups. So, e. g. the Slavic *Nemeci* means both "the silent" and "the Germans". There are also hybrid forms combining F and H or G and H: *Gotho-Germans*, *Scando-Goths*. In such cases I shall include the name as considerations of convenience will suggest. With these preliminary remarks we shall turn now to an examination of the

¹ A brief summary in English may be found in the journal of *Selskab for germansk Filologi*, 1903.

individual names. The bracketed numbers refer to the chronological sequence, (§ 13).

§ 5. Mythical Conception.

1. (1). Sons of Mannus = descendants of the earthborn first man, inhabitants of Mannheim.¹ The designation is derived from Tacitus' mythical family tree, which is the earliest monument of our native literature known to us; I shall cite it as "the family tree of Mannung". According to Tacitus it was already old then, hence dates from pre-Christian times; and it is in accordance with that fact that the ethnic groupings therein contained were already then antiquated. Moreover certain elements may perhaps be regarded as going back to an Indo-European myth, a fact which has been discussed by Wackernagel. For the Aryans use precisely the same designation for themselves: the Hindus call their tribal ancestor Manus, his son Mânavas, his daughter Mânavî, his descendants Mânúšas (= men); the Iranians call the first human pair Mešia and Mešianê. The name was probably never current in practical use.

2 (10) The Sons of Fornjot = sons of the ancient giant, the first giant, who corresponds to the mythical first man and also represents the northern regions of the world.² The designation is found in the literary title "Fra Fornjóts ætmonnum", *The Flatisland Book*, I, 24. The ancient giant Fornjot is the first ancestor of a numerous clan of specifically Scandinavian character, which also embraces, however, other representatives of the group, as, e. g., Burgundians and Goths. The earliest descendants of this ancestor have such names as Frost, Icicle, Snow, Góí, þorri (names of two winter months) etc. According to tradition the clan had its source in Finland and the regions immediately thereabout; the purport being evidently to assign the origin of the whole group of peoples to the arctic North; thus the secondary motif of fixing the geographical locality also enters here. The comparison suggests itself

¹ Literature: Tacitus, *Germania*, chapter 2; Müllenhoff, D. A. II; Wackernagel, "*Die Anthropologie der Germanen*"; Z. f. d. A. VI, G. Schütte, "Oldsagn om Godtjod", p. 133 ff.

² Literature: G. Schütte, "Oldsagn om Godtjod", 130, 133 ff. (p. 130 survey of the ancestral lines).

with Isung, the "Iceman", the mythical leader of the Anglo-Saxons during the conquest of Britain, according to the *Þiðrekssaga*. This tradition of the ancestral line is very late and arbitrarily amplified. But individual members of the family are present in local traditions throughout the North (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland), a fact which testifies to the great age of the fundamental conception. In particular has the first king Snow been the object of legendary elaboration, cp. my study "Oldsagn om Godtjod". Like the designation "sons of Mannus" so the "sons of Fornjot" has probably never been employed in actual practice as a name.

§ 6 B. Emphasis on the Language.

3. (22). (Matrix Godt = the group of languages of which Gott = God = Gud is the symbolic word. The designation is found in a work of the French writer Jos. Scaliger, *Diatriba de Europæorum Linguis*, written in 1599, printed posthumously 1610. Scaliger distinguishes the chief linguistic groups of Europe by some symbolic word: "sunt igitur quatuor haec verba, DEUS, ΘΕΟΣ, GODT, BOGE, notae quatuor majorum Matricum, Latinae, Graecae, Teutonicae, Sclauonicae". "Matricis GODT propagines sunt Teutonismus, Saxonismus, & Danismus". The choice of the designation is a philological experiment, and lays no claim to being practicable. . . . A popular and actually current emphasis upon the language is probably to be seen, however, in the Slavic name *Nemeci* = "the silent"; of which we shall speak under F below.

§ 7 C. Emphasis on Geographical Locality.

4 (3). Hyperboreans are literally people who dwell above or beyond the northwind.¹ The name is very old in Greek tradition, but is supposed to have had quite a different form and meaning originally, namely Perphereans = "transmitters (of sacrificial gifts)", hence was at first a mythical designation, (Müllenhoff). However that may be, it is certain at any rate that in historic times the Hyperboreans were believed to be the inhabitants of the farthest outer zone of Greek perspective. At times they appear as Celts, often, how-

¹ Literature: Müllenhoff D. A. II, 187, Thraemer in Pauly and Wissowa: *Realencyklopädie*.

ever, also as representatives of our own group of people. Pytheas, who visited the North Sea in the fourth century B. C., seems to have used the name in this sense; his words are: north of those European Scythians, who are known as Belcae (= Belgians) dwell the Hyperboreans; they are the first Scythian tribes of what are supposed to be the Asiatic coasts and inhabit the Rhipæan mountains and the land of the midnight sun (Mela III, 5, 36). The name "Belcae" shows indubitably that Pytheas himself is the source of information (cp. Mela III, 57: "Thyle Belcarum litori adposita est" private communication from Arno Holz), and it is equally clear that the "Asiatic" country mentioned is the Scandinavian peninsula. Later the name Hyperborean occurs in the Greek historian Poseidon, 130-140 B. C., where it designates expressly a special group of peoples, the Celto-Scythians, cp. § 9. According to Poseidon the home of the group lies between the Alps and the ocean.

5 (12). People who speak the Northern Tongue = Northern Peoples. The designation northern tongue (*norroen tunga*), expressly embracing our whole group of peoples, is found in an Icelandic geography of the 14th century, cited below p. 88. It is the native popular equivalent of the name Hyperboreans. From the nature of the case the term may have been used quite early; it survives in the two following designations of late and learned origin.

6 (19). People from the Land of the Midnight Sun = Northern Peoples. The expression occurs in Trogillus Arnkil's *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion, oder welche Bewandtniss es mit der Religion der mitternächlichen Völker gehabt hat*", 1702-03; an individual term purely.

7 (20). Septentrional Peoples = Northern Peoples. The name is used by the English writer George Hickes in his *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, 1705, which is the earliest comprehensive linguistic anthology of our group of peoples.

§ 8. D. Emphasis on Intermediate Position Ethnically.

8 (4). Kelto-Scythians are inhabitants of regions intermediate between Northwest Europeans and Northeast Europe-

ans.¹ The designation originates with the Greek historian Poseidonios (ca. 130-140 B. C.), the first learned observer who distinguished with exactness our forefathers from their neighbors, not only from the Celts but also from the Scythians.

Citing Diodorus and Plutarch Müllenhoff criticizes the earlier vague use of these names. "Es ist gut, die bewohner des eigentlichen Galliens jenseit der Alpen und oberhalb der Pyrenäen von denen im Norden zwischen dem ocean und dem hercynischen bergwald zu unterscheiden, wo Keltike gegen osten mit Skythien über dem Pontus zusammenfliesst. Da muss sich eine mischung des keltischen und skythischen stammes vollzogen haben, mengen von auswanderern sind von da von zeit zu zeit ausgegangen und haben das nördliche Europa überflutet, unter manchen besonderen namen und bald als Skythen, bald als Kelten oder Galater auftretend: der richtige gemeinsame name für sie war Keltoskythen". Here the attempt is made, in thoroughly scientific manner, to grasp and to assign a name to the individuality of our group of peoples. The observation was indeed too fine to maintain itself against the general ignorance of the Greeks regarding the barbarians of the North.

§ 9 E. Representation by Foreign Groups of Peoples.

9 (21). Scythians = Northeastern Peoples. As far as we know, the first one to designate our group by the name Scythians was the West Greek Pytheas, who visited our shores about 325 B. C., thus becoming the discoverer of the Germanic world.

In using the name Scythians he, however, merely attempted to give expression to the ethnic contrast with the Celts, whom he knew well enough from the region about his own city of Marseilles; consequently he intended nothing further than "non-Celtic peoples of the North and the Northeast in general", including therein also the Belgians. This more geographic than ethnic signification the name Scythian retained down to the Byzantine age, cp. Zeuss. In a more real sense the name Scythi is first used as a designation of our group of peoples by the Swedish writer Olaf Rudbeck in his *Atlantica*, 1676.

¹ Literature: Müllenhoff *D. A.* II, 187.

10 (6). Galatians = Northwest Peoples (= Celts).¹ Instead of designating the northwestern non-Celts and non-Scythians by the learned compound Kelto-Scythi, certain Greek writers seized upon the name Galatians which since the 3d century had begun to become known. This name was used for a northwestern tribe of nomads which suddenly had pressed on from the distant Northwest to the mouth of the Danube; and so the tribe became identified with the Skiri and the Bastarni who coming from Eastern Germany had appeared in the same place about that time. That the name Galatians was only a more exact form of the name Celtic was not clear to them. At last the name comes to be applied to our group of peoples in contradistinction to the Celts. It is used thus by Plutarch 5, 32, when he defines the realm of the Galatians as situated beyond the land of the Celts, between the Erkyntian Forest and the ocean, and extending toward Scythia.

11 (7). Celts = Northwestern Peoples (= Galatians).² The older erroneous separation of Galatians and Celts was entirely misunderstood by the Greek historian Diôn Kassios: according to him the Galatians are domiciled west of the Rhine, but the Celts on the east. This use of the names appears also in the Byzantine age, e. g. in Zonaras, and it is revived by the German Grammarian Schottel in his *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt-Sprache*, 1663; at the time of Schottel the ethnical individuality of the Celts had not yet been rediscovered. Holtzmann even, as late as 1855, in his article "Kelten und Germanen", was still under the influence of similar views.

12 (5). Germani = Northwestern Peoples (the Belgian Ligurii), later = Germans, hence passes over into Group 7.³

¹ Literature: Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, 1837, 62; article on Gallier in Pauly's *Realencyklopädie*.

² Literature: Zeuss 63: 561.

³ The literature is extensive. We shall cite here principally only the more comprehensive treatises, where further references may be found, and in addition to these some especially important articles: Tacitus, *Germania*, 2; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik* and *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Cp. also *Briefwechsel der Gebrüder Grimm mit nordischen Gelehrten*, ed. by E. Schmidt; Herman Müller "Ueber Teutonen und Germanen", Müllenhoff, *D. A.* II, 189 seq., and Pauly's

Among the names of our group of peoples Germani is the first that can be historically shown to have been adopted in practical use. Our chief source is the well-known passage in Tacitus: *ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallas expulerint ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sunt. Ita nationis nomen, non gentis, evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ab metum, mox etiam a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur*".

According to the words of Tacitus the elasticity of the conception Germani was clear to the ancients. As to the "how?" and the "whence?", however, they were quite in the dark, and later writers, with one exception, have offered no solution of the question. The only exception is represented by an article which till now has been almost wholly overlooked or rejected, namely Herm. Müllers "Ueber Teutonen und Germani" (cited in Pauly's *Encyklopädie*, G. S.), whose conclusions are identical with those I had arrived at before I had become acquainted with his article. Only a brief outline of his discussion can be given here, as the details of it belong in the section on "spheres of contact" (Neighbors).

It has been established now beyond question, I take it, that those Germani with whom the name gained currency, were not Germani in the modern sense. Therefore there can no longer be any occasion for tormenting oneself with interpretations based on native linguistic material (Germani = Gêr-männer, Gehrende-männer, Glüh-männer ! ! etc.)

It is also believed to have been established that the people first called Germani were Celts. But against this view I must, with Müller, take exception most emphatically. These Germani were a distinct group of peoples who formed a kind of intermediate link between the Celts and the Germani, the later bearers of the name; they were indeed precisely those Belgians, whom Pytheas includes among the Scythian peoples, and holds to be non-Celts. This assumption, which becomes

Realencyklopädie, also in Pauly und Wissowa *Realencyklopädie*; Bremer, "Ethn." in *Grdr. d. germ. Phil.* (2) § 3; R. Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* (2), 95 seq.

inevitable at once if we compare Pytheas, Caesar and Tacitus, is shown to be correct by the presence of a Belgian stratum of non-Celtic place-names, which point decidedly to the Ligurii. Now if this is true then every occasion for seeking a Celtic etymology for the word Germani falls; the name Germani is and will remain uncertain.

But the distribution of the name Germani is clear enough. It belonged to a non-Celtic stratum of Belgium which extended across the eastern side of the Rhine (cp. Caesar *B. G.* II, 4: "plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis"). In the course of time the Germani who dwelled on the left of the Rhine became wholly assimilated by the Celts; those on the right side were in part assimilated by the West Germans who were pressing forward, and in part migrated to the left of the Rhine, where they themselves forced back the Celts and Celticized peoples (Tacitus: *qui. Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint ac nunc Tungri, tunc Gërmani vocati sint.*) But while the real Germani had vanished from the scene as a nationality, their name remained, indeed, in local use on the left of the Rhine; but to the Celts these Germani no longer passed as representatives of a distinct nationality. Among the Celts the name Germani had always represented a nationality, in the main foreign, a distinct group of peoples; hence quite naturally the name came to be transferred to the non-Celtic peoples on the right side of the Rhine. Thus the term perhaps came to be applied by them to peoples there who by origin in reality were Germani; but the nationality so designated was a different one, namely the "Deutsche".

The later fate of the name on Celtic soil cannot be determined with certainty. It never acquired a clear and definite meaning among the Celts. If the Germani were to them a group of peoples then such a conception was rather based on the memory of the vanished nationality of Belgium than on any newly acquired knowledge of the Germans as a national unit in the modern sense. The ancient Celts were not prominent as seafarers; of the interior portions of Germania they could at best, have known only the adjacent regions of West and Middle Germany perhaps as far as the Elbe. The regions to the north and the east were to them a vague *terra firma*.

If in ancient times a Scandinavian should have wandered within the range of vision of the Celts, he might not unlikely have been thought to be a "German"; but we can hardly maintain that the Celts had any real knowledge of Germanic ethnic unity before the time of the migrations of the nations.

The Romans learned the name Germani from the Celts; and it fell to their lot to extend the expression to include Scandinavia. How can we determine when this wider knowledge first appeared? Before our era the Romans could have no definite knowledge of the northeastern boundary of the Germanic group of peoples. When they use the name Germani in a more exclusive sense, it was something like our tendency today to include most of the peoples of central and eastern Asia under the vague conception of Mongolian. These are indeed indications that the Romans even down to the birth of Christ did not look upon all the Germans south of the Baltic as a fixed entity ethnically. The chart of Germany in Ptolemy's Atlas exhibits a coast-line, which necessarily must have been drawn by one who had been a member of the expedition of the Roman fleet in the year 5 A. D., and the coloration of this chart excludes the Cymbric peninsula and the Scandinavian islands from Germania. The coloration cannot have been made by the monks of the cloister of Athos, who copied the chart in the 13th or the 14th century, for in all essentials their copy proves to be quite exact. We have here rather a phase of Roman world-view, which was not yet clear about the distribution of the Germani. To the same erroneous view Mela's words also point when he says the Ermini inhabit the remotest regions of Germania; According to Tacitus' view the Ermini were "medii", or again they are mediterranii; here then they were decidedly not "ultimi". But yet Mela seems to have some vague notion of the real distribution of the Germani; in III, 54, he mentions the Teutons (whom he, according to III, 32, clearly holds to be Germani), as inhabitants of Scandinavia. In Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* IV, 96, and in Tacitus' *Germania* ch. 44 (published in 98 A. D.) we meet with a fuller knowledge about the Germanic character of the Scandinavians. The inclusion of Scandinavian was especially the result of the commercial relations with the amber terri-

tory of the coast at the mouth of the Vistula which had been established under Emperor Nero. But even when the knowledge of the North was at its height the distribution remained somewhat vague; extraneous peoples as Balts and Quan-Finns appear as Germani in Tacitus.

Greek scholars—since the beginning of the Christian era—sometimes adopted the Roman usage with reference to our group of peoples. So, earliest in point of time, Strabo, who, moreover, had no knowledge of the Scandinavians. His successor Ptolemy, who wrote in the second half of the 2nd century, represents the same stage of knowledge as Pliny and Tacitus, i. e. Scandinavia is expressly included as Germanic, that is as far as the reading of the text is concerned; but the Atlas quite contradicts that, in that he excludes from Germania not only Scandinavia, but even the Cymbric peninsula, thus following a Roman prototype of the 5th century A. D. So crudely have the prototypes used by Ptolemy and his predecessor Marinus been worked over.

Among the Germani themselves the name Germani never became current in the classical period.

Ptolemy is, as far as I know, the last classical writer to use the name Germani as a designation for our group of peoples; with the waning knowledge of the geography of the region the name again becomes more limited in its signification.

The Celts are the only people who preserve the name in popular usage. The evidence comes from the Anglo-Saxon Bede, who says that the Britons of his day still designate the inhabitants of the original home of the Anglo-Saxons as Germani, and he adds that they have perverted the name to "Garmani" (V, 11); it is precisely this perversion of form which he alleges, which furnishes us the best proof of popular tradition for the name, for the change of *er* to *ar* is a well recognized Celtic change. Further we can imagine that the Britons of the 8th century not only knew the Germani by name but that they believed them to occupy about the same geographical extent of territory which they occupy in modern times. For in the passage referred to Bede names the Anglo-Saxons, several German tribes, and also the Danes as Germani. Now it is conceivable that he gives this distribution of Ger-

manic race from his own knowledge, but Celtic knowledge of it may also be assumed—for inasmuch as the Danes had appeared as vikings on the Atlantic coasts since the 6th century, the possibility was present, that their kinship with the other invading Germanic peoples should have been recognized on the part of the Celts.

The wider application of the name Germani was no longer current among the Romans after the beginning of the 6th century. The history of the Goths by Jordanis, whose Latin terminology presumably goes back to Cassiodorus, expressly contrasts the Scandinavian peoples with the Germani, under whom he would hardly seem to include the Goths even. With him the Germani probably correspond about to the West Germanic peoples of today.

Greek writers of the same time exhibit a conception of the name that is still more limited; according to Procopius, Germanoi is an antiquated name for the West Germans, particularly the Franks. It would seem that Procopius himself calls our racial group the Gothic; other Greek writers of the Byzantine age continued to use the inherited erroneous designation "Celts".

As a final result of this development Germania is reduced approximately to the extent it exhibits in Ptolemy's chart, corresponding approximately to the present Germany. In the Middle Ages Germani is throughout equivalent to "Deutsche", whence the use of the name in modern English and Greek; thence also expressions like "Germanismus" for "a German turn of expression", "germanisieren" for "to turn into German", and "Germania-Denkmal" for "a German national monument".

The reintroduction of the wider signification dates from the age of Humanism and originated in Germany. It was prompted chiefly by the discovery of the lost Germania of Tacitus in the 15th century. At first the name Germani was so employed again solely by Germans, and even among them it passed merely as a loan-word, and was employed only in Latin writings; the translation "Deutsche" was everywhere used in active literature. And so it continues down to the 19th century: in the epoch-making writings of J. Grimm, W. Grimm and C.

Zeuss the term "germanisch" is nowhere used on the title-page, it is only and solely "deutsch". Soon, however, the form Germani also acquires a wider currency in literature and spreads from Germany to the neighboring countries. It makes its appearance even in Anglo-Saxon territory; although here the name "Germans" can only mean "Deutsche", the adjective "Germanic" as equivalent to "Germanisch" appears now and then in learned treatises, cp. the *American Journal of Germanic Philology*. The form "Goto-Germaner", "Gotho-Germans", which has appeared in Denmark and England, is a compromise with the synonym "Goths".

Thus the name Germani has secured a well-nigh universal currency. But the transformations of its fate have not thereby reached their end: with Houston S. Chamberlain the name of a group of peoples becomes the name of a family of peoples and is elevated to a racial name. With him Germani is equivalent to Indo-Europeans. In further continuation of this perspective there remains only one step more: the name Germani becomes a term for man in general.

§ 10 F. As Represented by the Germans.

13 (2). Nemeci = those without a language (?), later = the Germans.¹ The name is Slavic, genuinely popular and very old. According to the native conception the name designates our group of peoples as "dumb, speechless", i. e. "speaking an unintelligible language". This explanation of the word is very plausible, and cannot be rejected without the strongest of reasons. In the meantime quite a different etymology has been offered (Corp. Insc. Lat.) according to which the name comes from the German tribe Nemeti, who conquered the region about Speier on the left bank of the Rhine in the 1st century B. C. But, according to the accepted view, the name of this tribe is not German at all, but of Celtic origin, and the Nemeti therefore probably had been neighbors of the Celts from early times. We have no evidence whatever of their presence on the Slavic-German border. Yet this theory remains a pos-

¹ Literature: Lehrberg, *Untersuchung zur ältesten Geschichte Russlands*, P. 178. Daniel Streyc, *Reise nach Island* (Polish orig.), translated into Danish by Thorson, *Annaler for nord. Oldkyndighed*, 1858; G. Schütte, "Om Racenavnet og Racetanken," *Norden*, 1904.

sibility which cannot be dismissed off hand. Inasmuch as Celts were domiciled in Bohemia and farther east, the Nemeti could very easily have been neighbors of Celts and East Europeans at the same time, before they migrated west. To be sure, they would hardly have been immediate neighbors of the Slavs, their nearest neighbors would rather have been the Dacians; but through the latter the name might possibly have reached the Slavs. It remains then, for some investigator to discover possible traces of the Nemeti in Eastern Germany; for the present we are obliged to doubt that any such exist.¹ Whatever the origin of the name be, it is at any rate certain that the Slavs used the name Nemeci in ancient times as a general designation for our group of peoples. The occurrences in Russian literature from the 13th to the 17th century include the Germans, the English, Swedes, Norwegians and Danes (cp. Lehrberg, and also Rydberg, *Sveriges Traktater*, I, 173 and *Register*). The printer Daniel Streyc, who was of Bohemian origin, and who wrote a Polish account of his travels in 1638, regarded Icelandic and Danish as daughter languages of Nemeci by which he understands specifically German.² The wider signification of the name has probably everywhere disappeared in the modern Slavic languages; it means now quite generally only "Germans".

14 (17). Deutsche = speaking the popular language (or "speaking distinctly, deutlich)." The basic word is Gothic *þiuda*, O. N. *þjóð*, O. H. G. *deota*, "people"; the word "deuten", also suggests itself. The derivative "deutsch" is supposed to date from the 9th century; at first the term was applied to the native vernacular of Germany in contradistinction to Latin, the foreign language which had been introduced for the use of the church and the learned. Out of the designation of the language there arose later a designation of the

¹ The city Nimptsch in Upper Silesia cannot be considered, as there is no evidence of its existence in antiquity; the name was probably given it by the Slavs.

² He says: "the Icelandic language is very different from others, and although it has its origin in the Nemeci language, it differs from it considerably, while, however, those who call themselves Danes are able in a measure to understand it. Islandya has its name from the Nemeci word *eiss*".

people, corresponding to the Latin synonym *Germani*. It is difficult to say definitely when it took on the broader meaning of a name for a group of peoples; comprehensive lists of peoples are lacking for that early period, they cover only Gothic and German dialects. Thus e. g. the abbot Smaragdus says in his *Onomasticon*, written in the 8th century, that Frankish as well as Gothic come from German; Walafrid Strabo d. 849, says: "the Goths had our, i. e. the German language", and in the *Annolied*, 11th century, we are told of the Krim Goths:

Man sagit, daz dâr in halvin noch sîn,
die dir diutschin sprechin
ingegen India vili verro.

In all these cases "Goths" can be understood to have been thought of as "inhabitants of Germany"; hence there is hardly evidenced any such thing as the geographical conception "Germany". But in the age of the Reformation, when the rediscovery of the *Germania* of Tacitus revived the study of the antiquity of the country the classical name *Germani* is expressly given the signification of a name for a group of peoples and promptly translated by "Deutschen". Thus e. g. in Turmair's *Chronica von ursprung, herkommen und thaten der uhralten Teutschen*, 1541, in Schottel's *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haubt Sprache*.

We have already said above that in Latin writings *Germani* was used and in German writings the word *Deutsche* was used. The climax is reached at the beginning of the 19th century: then the designation "deutsch" is used e. g. in the title pages of the works of J. Grimm, W. Grimm, C. Zeuss, et. al. Later the name *Germani* appears also in German writings, but as late as 1905 a work entitled *Deutsche Stammeskunde* by R. Much, 2 ed., appeared, in which "deutsch" is used in the sense of Germanic.

15 (15). Teutons = "belonging to the folk"; at first it stands for the associates of the Cimbri, later for the Germans.¹

¹ Literature: *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum Bavaricum*. Mon. Germ. SS. XXVI, 222. Scaliger, *Diatriba de Europaeorum linguis*.

The name is the stem of the derivative "Deutsche" (see above), and the two names have also been used together in literature. There is, however, no historical connection between the two, aside from the well-known fact that Teutons as well as Germans are members of our ethnic group. The original bearers of the name Teuton presumably had their home in the present Denmark, in which two provinces by the name *Thiuth* were known in the Middle Ages and still exist, namely *Tybjerg Herred* in Zealand and *Tyland* in Northern Jutland. Having become renowned through their expedition against Rome the Teutons expanded even in antiquity far beyond their original domain; Mela e. g. speaks of them as inhabiting all Scandinavia. Later when the name "Deutsch" had come into use the learned identification of it with the name Teuton was a matter of course; in place of *Theotisci* one would write *Theotonic* or some such form. Then as a next step Teutons as a name of a people, variant form *Theutonic*, was made into a name of a group of peoples. This expansion of the term occurs first, I believe, in the Bavarian chronicle of the 13th or 14th century cited above, where a very interesting and exact discussion is given of the racial movements in Eastern Germany. Apparently independent of this the name Teuton is then taken up by the French scholar Scaliger in the 16th century. With the 19th century it became generally current in English speaking countries; I am however, not able to state who there introduced the name.

16 (16). *Allemani* = "all men"; means first the tribes of the Upper Rhine, Germans in general.¹ The designation *Allemani* arose in the 2nd or 3d century A. D. among southwest German tribes. The neighboring French transferred the name to all the Germans and the Italians generalized it in the 14th century to include our entire group of peoples; by way of the Italians the designation finally reached Russia. The development is certainly popular.

The Orehowitz peace tract of 1323 says: "of the whole of *Almania*, that is Lübeck, Gothland and Sweden". The Italian

¹ Literature: *Racolta di Rumusio* II, fol. 97; Lehrberg, *Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte Russlands*, p. 178; G. Schütte, "Om Racenavnet, etc.", p. 127, 128.

Cantarini, who made a journey to Russia in 1487, calls Sweden "la Alamagna alta". This use of the name has probably nowhere been handed down to the present time.

17 (14). Sax-maa = Swordmen; at first = Saxons, later = the Germans.¹ The ancient Germanic tribal name Saxon (< sahs, 'dagger, sword'), spread locally along the coast from Flanders to Esthonia as the result of colonisation. Thus the Saxons became Germans to the northern and the Estnic-Finnic conception. The Finns used the name still more broadly for the Teutons in general; at any rate Swedes were, according to Rudbeck, called Saxmæ, precisely as the Italians had called them Allemanni. In view of the general conservative character of the Finnic language it is quite likely that this use still persists somewhere among the Finns.

§ 11 G. Representation by the Scandinavians.

18 (11). Varjazi = 'men' = Varangians.²

The Scandinavian name Vāringjar, in its Russian form Varjazi, is formed from a stem that appears in tribal names such as Bai-varii, Cant-wære etc. and means simply 'men'. It came to be applied originally to those Scandinavians who made scattered settlements throughout Russia; here the name was picked up by the Slavic population and used as a term for our whole group of peoples. Cp. Nestor 5, 212: "So these Varjazi are called Russians, as others Swedes, others Northmen, Angles, and others Goths"; further, 2, 24: "the Letch, the Prussians and Tschues are domiciled by the Varangian ocean. By this ocean dwell also the Varangians eastward as far as the Semitic boundary; and by this same ocean they dwell as far to the west as England and Walland. Of Japhet's family are also these: Varangians, Swedes, Northmen, Goths, Russians, Angles, Galicians and the Welsh". The last passage is evidently intended as an enumeration of the members of the group, although Varangians here appear as a coordinate term with the other names. None of those mentioned fall wholly outside the group: the Galicians are Spanish Goths, and the Welsh are subjects of the Franks. With the assimilation

¹ Literature: Olaf Rudbeck: *Atlantica*.

² Literature: Nestor, *Slavenchronik*, 5, 212; Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* p. 59; Schütte, *Racenavnet*, p. 128.

of the Scandinavian Russians into the Slavic nationality the name Varangian fell into disuse; it is probably not found today as the name of a racial group.

19. (13). Lochlannaig¹ = Firthland-People = Norwegians = Scandinavians generally.² The Gaelic name of the Norwegians was extended, most likely in the 14th or 15th century so that it embraced the Danes and even the Germans. Our authority is "*In Cath Catharda*", the "*Civil Wars*" of *Lucanus*, in *Free Irish Translation*, published by Whitley Stokes, Irish Text Society 1909. Line 150: "Caesar was appointed to the dictatorship . . . at the rough land of Gaul and the broad-long country of Lochlann, for those are one country save for the intervention of the very pure river Rhine which divides and separates the two lands". Also in l. 120 Lochlann is called "the broad-long country".—L. 5370 mentions the "longmaned heroes of Lochlann, impetuous, madly-vigorous, importunate, furious".—L. 510: (The route on which the Cimbri passed the Alps) "is the same also that the warriors of Lochlann came to harry Rome".—L. 5246: Caesar's sword was made of "chosen and veritable acmes of the full-sharp, hard, tough, severe Lochlannach blades".—L. 1305: Pompey addresses his men to fight valiantly "in their own fatherland against Franks and Lochlannach and against the broken army of outlanders which stood in Caesar's company".

Regarding this extension in use Holger Pedersen says: "Jeg ser heri et slags Forlegenheds-sprogbrug; Oversætteren har savnet et folkeligt Udtryk for "Tyskland", og har saa paa Grund af Forestillingen om Slægtskabet mellem Tysker og Skandinaver grebet til det velkendte Lochlann".³ This is precisely the way in which many group-names have arisen. The manuscripts are from the 15th century and thereabouts, though the date of composition may be somewhat earlier.

¹ Lochlannacha, later Irish form.

² Literature: Alexander Bugge, "Contributions to the history of the Norsemen in Ireland", in *Norske Videnskabselskabets Skrifter* 1900, II, No. 4; Marstrander, *Erin* V. 250.

³ Privately communicated.

20 (18). Cimbri = Inhabitants of the Cimbric Peninsula.¹

The name Cimbri is etymologically uncertain. It does not aid us that we find it translated "Robbers" among the Gauls, we are not on that account justified in assuming Keltic origin for the name, as Müllenhoff does, *D. A.* II, 117 seq. The meaning "Robbers" is simply *post festum* arising from the historical appearance of the Cimbri precisely as in the case of their associates the Ambroni, cp. above. On this question the reader may be referred to the excellent discussion by J. F. Marcks. The name Cimbri survives to the present time in the northern part of the Cimbric peninsula in the name *Himmerbo*, inhabitant of Himmerland, the older Himmer-Syssel. The Greek *k* = Lat. *c* represents simply inexactly the Germanic spirant, as the *t* in "Teuton" from Germ. *þeuþ*-. The renown of the Cimbri prompted several scholars in the 16th and the 17th century to select the name as a designation for our whole racial group; they were the Dutch writer Gorp, Arnkil from Schleswig and Peder Syv from Seeland. The name has never enjoyed any extended use.

§ 12 H. Representation by the Goths.

21 (26). Teuto-Goths = Teutons (alias Germans) + Goths. The name is used by Albany Major, "Viking Notes" in *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*. It is a compromise form, combining the two tribal names Teutons and Goths; at the same time it may have been suggested by the Old Icelandic extension of the name Goths: Got-þjóð (nr. 9). Individual.

22 (23). Gotho-Germans = Germani (alias "Deutsche") + Goths. Used by Vilhelm Thomsen et al.; English citation in Firmenich, *Germaniens Völkerstimmen*, preface. It is a compromise form which combines the two racial names Germani and Goths. Its use is very limited, being found chiefly in Denmark.

23 (24). Scando-Goths = Scandinavians + Goths. Name

¹ Literature: art. "Cimbri" in Pauly and Wissowa's *Realencykl*, 1899; Goropius Becanus (Gorp van Bek), *Origines Antwerpianae*, 1569; Trogillus Arnkil, *Cimbrische Heyden-Religion* etc., 1702-1703; Peder Syv, *Nogle Betænkninger over det gamle Cimbriske Sprog*, 1663; J. F. Marcks, "Die römische Flottenexpedition zum Kimbernlande" in *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, 1894.

used by George Stephens: *The Oldest Northern Runic Monuments, Preface* p. VIII (written 1867). It is a compromise form which combines the name of the Scandinavians with the racial group-name Goths. Individual.

24 (9) and 25 (25). Got-þjóð and Goðlanders = Gothic Peoples.² Even among the Goths the name Gut-þiuda i. e. "Gothic people", was used; it occurs in the fragment of the Gothic calendar. It was the usual name employed among the people themselves and therefore the Greeks of a later period regularly used the form Γοτθοί, in reality a diminutive of Gut-thiuda. With the Gothic heroic saga the form reached Scandinavia, and as the simplex 'Goth' was used already in Old Germanic times as a racial group-name, the compound acquired the same signification. We find some traces of this already in the Eddic lays, there employed, to be sure, in a vague mythical way. Müllenhoff explains that the Goþ-þjóð of the Ragnarok-episode simply means "divine race" (*D. A.*); but Rydberg maintains unhesitatingly: "Got-thjod är Germanfolket och Germanlandet".

But our chief source is an Icelandic geography of the 14th century. Deducting the learned mythical features the passage is as follows: "the Origin of all tradition in the 'Norroen' tongue took place when that language, which we call Norroen became established here . . . and this tongue embraced Saxony, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and some parts of England . . . and at that time these lands were called Goðlands and the people Goðþjóð". The forms with ð or þ show the influence of mythological ideas; the name 'goths' was associated with 'gods'. In the compound Got-þjóð the assimilation of tþ to þþ might very easily take place.¹ Finnur Jónsson informs me that he believes he can show that the form Got-þjóð was the regular current form during the Eddic period, and therefore this form is to be preferred. The designations Got-þjóð and goðlands have never been used extensively. But they are interesting because they are connected with one of the first native definitions of our racial group. I have occa-

¹ Literature: Fornmanna Sögur, XI, 412; Victor Rydberg: *Undersökningar i germansk Mythologi*, I, 195; G. Schütte: "Oldsagn om Godtjod".

sionally used the name since 1903 first in journal of the "Selskab for germansk Filologi". Cp. further the following numbers.

26 (8) and 27 (27). Goths, Gotthonic.¹ The name "Goth" is etymologically uncertain. Possibly it may be connected with the verb O. N. "*gjóta*, 'giessen'; the ablaut form *gaut*, 'ich goss', *gutan* = gegossen", may be compared with the tribal names *Gautar* and *Gutar* which frequently appear side by side in Scandinavia. We may further compare O. N. *goti*, 'horse', a word that in reality should mean "the one who casts, the dispenser". But this interpretation is questionable, for the word *goti* may be a geographical name similar to Wallachian, Arabian, etc. From a very early time the name of the Goths was native in Scandinavia as well as south of the Baltic; the southern Goths were, as a matter of fact, settlers from Scandinavia. Through the migrations of the nations the Goths suddenly became the most prominent representatives of our racial group as well in political as in cultural and linguistic respects: they created our first established power politically, our first national church, our first cultured literary language. The elevation of the name of the Goths to a name for the whole group of peoples was almost a necessary consequence of these facts. It was the first name of native origin that came to receive general application to the group.

The first evidence of the extended use is found in Greek writers after the 6th century; see the citations in Zeuss and Bremer, loc. cit. Procopius speaks of 'Gothic peoples'; "as common characteristics he names in the first place physical appearance, similar laws, the same religion, (the Arian) and the same language, *γοθική λεγομένη*" (Loewe). He then names as Gothic a number of individual tribes: Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, Gepides (Wars of the Vandals, I, 2, p. 178 A. B.), Rugii (Wars of the Goths, III, 2, p. 470 B), Skirii, and Alani (do. I, 1 p. 308 A). The Burgundians are added by Agathias I, 3, the Eruli by Zonaras, 12, 23, p. 590, the Eudusiani by Peri-

¹ Literature: Zeuss 441, Bremer 821; W. Grimm, *Deutsche Helden-sage*; R. Loewe, *Die ethnische und sprachliche Gliederung der Germanen*, 43; G. Schütte, "Oldsagn om Godtjod".

plus of Pontos *Eux.* XLII, 22 (Loewe, *Reste der Germanen am schwarzen Meere*, 5, 5). In the latter case 'Gothic language' is expressly mentioned.

The question first arises as to what we are to understand by the designation 'Gothic peoples'. Zeuss takes it to be an independent invention by Procopius; this is clearly erroneous since the designation appears also elsewhere, where borrowing from Procopius is not possible. The designation was surely popular and generally current; it might have arisen among the Greeks or the Goths with equal readiness.

The list of individual tribes given by Procopius represents especially the East Germanic group. The designation 'Goths' was especially natural here because of the uniting bond of the Gothic national church. But tribes from the other groups came to be associated with them, the Eruli and the Eudusiani, both of which originally dwelt in the neighborhood of the present Denmark. Can this association be explained by the supposition that they had become assimilated to the Goths linguistically, just as the Alani, who originally spoke an Iranian language, later appear as Goths? But, as Loewe says, that would be to overlook the fact that Procopius is not acquainted with any other group-names within our racial group than that of the Goths. Loewe says: Von Wert für die Gliederung des Germanenstammes . . . könnte seine Bezeichnung doch nur dann sein, wenn er irgend welche westgermanischen Völker mit den 'gotischen Völkern' zwar als verwandt bezeichnet, aber doch wieder von ihnen unterschieden hätte". But this Procopius did not do, therefore Loewe says, "könnte er vielleicht . . . an eine ältere Bezeichnungsweise angeknüpft haben, wonach alle Germanen, die in den Gesichtskreis des griechischen Volkes traten, von diesem und danach auch von den Römern direkt unter dem Namen ihres grössten Stammes als Goten zusammengefasst werden konnten". What Loewe here suggests as a possibility I hold to be assured beyond a doubt, but with the difference that the group-name Goths was not an old one at the time of Procopius but was just then coming into use. In his enumeration Procopius did not at all intend to give an exhaustive picture, but only to name those representatives of the group which lived nearest to the Greeks, and all these

belonged, as it happens, to the East Germanic group of tribes. Procopius himself was better informed regarding the distribution of our racial group than any other Greek writer of his time. He knew the boundaries between the Krim Goths and the Huns, between the Scandinavians and the Skridfinns, between the Angles and the Britons. His knowledge of the border regions was therefore much more exact than that of a Caesar or a Strabō, and if we assume that the name Germani was used by these writers as a group-name, we must also make the same allowance for Procopius's use of the name Goths.

The wider signification of the name of the Goths in Procopius is the less surprising, inasmuch as precisely the same use occurs within the same century in a diametrically opposite part of Germanic territory. The occurrence is in the catalog of names in the Old English poem *Wilsǽ*. The last part of this poem contains a list of heroes from the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries—Goths, Burgundians, Franks, Longobards, et al., and these are designated expressly as "eþel Gotena", Gothic nobility. Two centuries later we have another Old English testimony, namely King Alfred's translation of *Orosius*. On the last page the Latin original speaks of how Goths, Vandals, Swabians and Alani ravage the Roman realm, Alfred translated simply: "the Goths press forward, some into Spain, others into Africa". Clearly he employs the name Goths here as a general designation of our group. The same use of the name is found in the Old Norse *Edda*, something that was noticed already by W. Grimm, who says: "sehr natürlich hat die Edda hernach gotisch im allgemeineren Sinne genommen; so steht es an anderen Orten, und so wirt auch Grimhild eine gotische Frau genannt und soll Sigurd über Gothen herrschen".

We have seen above in the discussion of the expanded form Got-þjóð, that the unity of the Gothic group of peoples was recognized expressly with reference to the linguistic relationship. In the course of time 'Goths' and 'gods' became more or less completely confused, as e. g. in learned use of the name in the mythological school of Snorri. Such a development was, indeed, unavoidable as the memory of the historical Goths became more and more dim. But it was precisely this mythicizing of the name that rescued the group-name from total extinc-

tion. The quoted passage shows that the ethnic conception of the name survived as late as the 14th century.

In the 16th century the learned Eddic tradition was revived by Arngrímur Jónsson, the father of modern Icelandic science; the evidence is his *Chrymogæa* (= Iceland), 1609, as well as his *Supplementum Historiæ Norvagiæ*, 1544, a beautiful unedited manuscript in the Bartholinian collection of the University Library at Copenhagen. Through his successor Rúnolfur Jónsson his theories of the Gothic group were transmitted to the English scholar George Hickes, and were used in the introduction to the latter's *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, the first extensive linguistic anthology of our racial group (1689-1705).

A further impulse in the same direction came with the discovery of the Gothic written monuments from the time of Ulfilas. The existence of a national Gothic script had, to be sure, never been entirely forgotten; the expression "Gothic script" had erroneously been applied, however, to the corrupt form of the Latin cursive script as written by the monks in the Middle Ages. During the latter part of the Middle Ages this error gave place in part to a new one. It came to be believed that the Scandinavian runes represented the genuine Gothic written characters. And so the runes were called "litteræ Gotticæ". The first occurrence of this expression is probably an addendum in the manuscript of the Danish geographer Claus Clausen (Clavus), 15th century. It is found further in the highly important work of the Danish runologist Ole Worm, *Runer seu Danica Litteratura antiquissima vulgo Gothica dicta*, 1636. Moreover also the Etruscan written characters were held to be Gothic; cp. a work by Signeur des Accords, cited by Ole Worm.

Of course such erroneous suppositions were quite overshadowed when the genuine Gothic monuments were brought to light again. As is well known the discovery was, in the fullest sense of the word, epoch-making for the systematic study of the languages of our racial group; as a matter of course the event found expression also in the use of the name. Ulfilas's Bible was regarded as a monument of the parent language. To this was added also, of course, the recognition of

the historical facts of the political and cultural factors which had brought about the rise of the name of the Goths. Further it was also emphasized that the name of the Goths occurs both north and south of the Baltic; erroneously the Jutes in Denmark and in England were held to be representatives of the Goths.

And so for real or erroneous reasons the Goths became the symbol of our racial unity in varying degree in the different countries. We have already named two instances from Iceland, Arngrímur Jónsson and Rúnolfur Jónsson, and further George Hickes in England. With these writers belong also a prominent Dutch investigator F. Junius (du Jon), the Swedes Olof Rudbeck and Joh. Ihre, similarly prominent, and the Dane Rasmus Rask, one of the founders of comparative philology. Rask's example was at first followed by investigators like Vilh. Thomsen and Karl Verner; cp. Thomsen's epoch-making work *Om den gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse paa den finske*. Later Thomsen generally uses the term Germanic or Gotho-Germanic. We may note also the article on "Teutonic Languages" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1876, where our group is called 'the Teutonic or Gothic group'. Today the use of the name Goths as a group name is limited almost entirely to Denmark, and even here it rarely occurs in the scientific literature. To avoid ambiguity I have adopted the classical form "Guttones, Gothones", and from it formed the adjective "Gotthonic" and this form I am using in my course at the University, thus linking it again with scientific tradition.

§ 13. Having now examined the groups according to meaning I shall here consider the chronological sequence and the groups of sources. I shall at the same time consider the relation of these two to the groups according to meaning.

The chronological sequence offered below must of necessity be somewhat arbitrary. In many cases it is impossible to give the precise ethnical signification of a name or show when it arose, and we are in such cases forced to fall back upon bare conjectures. As the present attempt to fix the time of origin is absolutely the first, possible imperfections will not be judged too severely.

1. Sons of Manus. Native, popular, very old, probably from pre-Christian times.
2. Nemeci. Slavic, popular, of a certainty also very old.
3. Hyperboreans. Greek, in its wider signification presumably of learned origin; perhaps from the 2nd or the 1st century B. C.
4. Kelto-Scythians. Greek, learned, 2-1 century B. C.
5. Germani, Germanic. Keltic-Roman, popular, 1st century B. C. to 3rd century A. D. in learned use among the Greeks in the 1-3 century A. D. Through learned influence readopted in the 16th century; in general use since the 19th century.
6. Galatians. Greek, literary (popular?), 1st century B. C.
7. Kelts. Greek, literary (popular?), 2nd century B. C.; revived in learned use, 1663, 1855.
8. Goths. Native, popular, since the 6th century A. D.
9. Got-thiod. Native, popular, Eddic (from Nr. 8), revived in learned use, 1907.
10. Sons of Fornjot. Native, popular, in Old Norse tradition of Eddic character.
11. Varjazi, Væringjar. Slavic, popular, 11th century.
12. People of "Noroen tongue". Native, examples from the 14th century.
13. Lochlannach. Keltic (Gaelic), popular, Viking age? examples from the 15th century.
14. Sax-maa. Finnic, popular, since the Saxon colonisation of the Baltic countries.
15. Teutons. Native, learned, 14th century; by learned influence general English since the 19th century. French sporadically, 16th century.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 16. Allemanni. | Italian, popular, 15th century; Russian sporadically 15th century. |
| 17. Deutsche. | Native, popular since the 16th century, learned since the 19th century. |
| 18. Cimbri. | Native, learned, 16-17th century. |
| 19. Peoples of the Mid-night sun. | Native, literary, 17th century. |
| 20. Septentrional. | Native, learned (in Latin writings), 17th century. |
| 21. Scythians. | Native, learned, 17th century. |
| 22. Matrix Gott. | French, learned, 17th century. |
| 23. Gotho-Germanic. | Native, learned, 19th century. |
| 24. Scando-Goths. | Native, learned, 18th century. |
| 25. Gothlanders. | Native, learned, 1905. |
| 26. Teuto-Goths. | Native, learned, 1907. |
| 27. Gotthonic. | Native, learned, 1910. |

The mythical conception, represented by the native designation 'sons of Mannus' is probably the earliest in the whole group. The designation would certainly claim this distinction if Wackernagel's opinion be correct, that the myth is Indo-Germanic. The emphasis upon language, represented by the Slavic Nemeci, seems likewise to be very old. Its age cannot, however, be definitely fixed. The emphasis upon geographical locality may also rightly perhaps go back to antiquity. In native use it is represented by "people of Norroen tongue", in foreign use by the Greek name Hyperboreans. To the northern peoples it was natural from the first to emphasise their origin from the high North, and the corresponding Greek expression is known to have been used in the 5th century B. C. The expression occurs often in later times.

Emphasis upon intermediate position between Kelts and Scythians is presumably contemporaneous with the representation by foreign peoples like Kelts, Galatians or Germani, as racial designations; the time is the last centuries B. C. Such names are found especially in the border regions of the Greek horizon. The representation by various native tribes exhibits the influence of the migrations of the nations. The first to appear are the Goths, the principal actors in the period of

the migrations. Thereupon follow the Scandinavians and still later the Germans, who by literary influence come to be confused with the Teutons. In the 19th century compromise forms, like Gotho-Germans, Scando-Goths, Teuto-Goths, appear. So far the chronology; let us now consider the distributors of the names.

In the name Nemeci the Slavs early formed an independent and popular designation of our racial group. At a later time they transfer to the group the name of the representative that was best known to them, the Varangians (Varjazi). The Greek view-point is the geographical locality. Later Greek writers erroneously designate us as Kelts or Galatians, using thus in a misleading way the name of that people to the north-west that was best known to them. Temporarily, but only for a short time, they adopt the Kelto-Roman designation Germani. The Kelts on their part, confuse us with their north-eastern neighbors, the Germani in Belgium. The Roman writers of the classical age adopt the Keltic designation. Their descendants the Italians assign to our group the name of the contiguous German tribe the Allemanni. The Finns, in similar wise, call us Sax-maa from a neighboring German tribe.

In native terminology the group is first given a mythical name (Sons of Mannus). In a practical sense a designation first appears which is based on the most illustrious representative of the group in the period of migrations, the Goths. Later, local patriotism often plays a role. The revival of the name Goths was encouraged by the Swedes, for they regarded themselves as the real descendants of the Goths. The name of the Cimbri was preferred by the Danish writer Peder Syv, for the Cimbric peninsula is a part of Denmark. The name is also preferred by Trogillus Arnkil, who himself was a native of the Cimbric peninsula. The name "Deutsche" and the synonym, germanisch, are preferred especially in Germany.

§ 14. We have so far examined the chronology and the reasons that led to the use of the names in question. Let us now briefly consider the practicability of those names that are in present use. These are the five names: 1, German, Germanic, 2, Deutsche, 3, Teutons, 4, Goths, 5, Gotho-Germans. Of these the first and the third claim decidedly the most extensive

use. The fourth and the fifth are limited principally to Denmark. No one of the forms is wholly satisfactory; cp. on this de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, p. 79. The principal objection is the ambiguity or rather the vagueness which is everywhere so pronounced. I shall briefly summarise the variety of meanings.

Germani = 1, a tribe in Belgium; 2, a tribe in Westphalia; 3, a tribe in Southern Spain; 4, a tribe in Persia (also called Karmanoi, in the present Kirman); 5, the West Germans (Procopius); 6, the "Deutschen" (Engl. Germans), 7, the West and the East Teutonic peoples (Rasmus Rask), 8, our whole racial group; 9, the Indo-Europeans (Chamberlain).

Deutsche = 1, German-speaking inhabitants of Germany; 2, German-speaking inhabitants of Germany, the inhabitants of the Netherlands (the Dutch); 3, German or Frisian-speaking inhabitants of Germany; 4, our whole racial group.

Teutons = 1, tribes that lived near the Kimbri; 2, the Deutschen (cp. 'furor Teutonicus'); 3, our whole racial group.

Goths = 1, a tribe to the south of the Baltic; 2, a tribe on the island of Gothland; 3, a tribe in Southern Sweden (L. G. form; O. N. Gautar); 4, the Swedes in general (poetic); 5, the Scandinavians; 6, our whole racial group. Cp. further expressions, like 7, Gothic script and 8, Gothic style.

The variety of significations attached to these names is exceedingly unfortunate. This objection applies least to the name Teuton, which, however, is losing rather than gaining ground today. A compromise such as Gotho-Germans would do away with this objection, for it would be clear, but the form is cumbersome and seems to have little prospect of establishing itself. I myself have, on account of the ambiguity of the name Gothic, adopted the form Gotthonic, thus avoiding uncertainty of meaning, for while this form has classical ancestry it has been so little used that there are no undesired associations attached to it. Nevertheless this innovation will hardly accomplish anything more than to hinder the complete disappearance of the name Goths. In all likelihood parallel forms will continue to be used side by side, for each is supported by its weighty reasons. The name Germanic has classical authority and enjoys international use. The name Teuton reminds us

of the first appearance of our racial group on the stage of history and a nationality of over 100 millions weighs in its favor. The name of the Goths is the earliest native name of our group. It calls to our mind the climax of the great migrations, and it represents an actually unbroken tradition of nearly fifteen hundred years.

University of Copenhagen.

GUDMUND SCHÜTTE.